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231350Z Jun 00

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FM AMEMBASSY HARARE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6401
INFO NSC WASHDC PRIORITY
DEPT OF LABOR WASHDC PRIORITY
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 07 HARARE 003460

SIPDIS

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E.O. 12958: DECL: 06/22/2000
TAGS: [PGOV](#) [PREL](#) [ELAB](#) [PINR](#) [ZI](#)
SUBJECT: DESPITE STIFF COMPETITION, POTENTIAL FOR
VIOLENCE IN SOME AREAS, AND EXPECTED VOTE RIGGING, MDC
LIKELY TO WIN ABOUT 60 SEATS

REF: HARARE 3382

CLASSIFIED BY LABOFF SHAWN THORNE FOR REASONS 1.5 (B)
AND (D).

[1](#)1. (C) SUMMARY: ON THE EVE OF THE JUNE 24-25
PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS, THIS CABLE OFFERS POST'S
PREDICTIONS FOR HOTSPOTS AND TOUGH RACES AMONG
CONSTITUENCIES IN ZIMBABWE'S TEN PROVINCES. THE MDC IS
EXPECTED TO FARE VERY WELL IN MOST PROVINCES, WITH ITS
TOUGHEST CHALLENGE COMING FROM THE TRADITIONAL ZANU-PF
STRONGHOLDS OF THE "THREE MASHONALANDS" (MASHONALAND
CENTRAL, EAST, AND WEST), AND MASVINGO. POST PREDICTS A
WIN OF ABOUT 60 SEATS FOR THE MDC, ALTHOUGH OPPOSITION
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LEADERS HAVE TOLD US THEY EXPECT TO WALK AWAY WITH 80-85
CONSTITUENCIES. LIKELY VOTE RIGGING CLEARLY WOULD AFFECT
THOSE NUMBERS. WHILE WE EXPECT THE ELECTION WEEKEND TO
BE REASONABLY QUIET, THE POTENTIAL FOR VIOLENCE WILL
INCREASE GREATLY IN THE JUNE 26-28 PERIOD, AS RESULTS
FROM EACH CONSTITUENCY ARE ANNOUNCED. IN THE RURAL
AREAS, MUGABE ALMOST CERTAINLY WILL GIVE WAR VETERANS
THE GREEN LIGHT TO SEEK REVENGE AGAINST COMMERCIAL
FARMERS, THEIR EMPLOYEES, AND COMMUNAL RESIDENTS SHOULD
THE RURAL VOTE NOT GO ZANU-PF'S WAY. END SUMMARY.

VIOLENCE DURING ELECTIONS

[1](#)2. (C) ALTHOUGH THE POTENTIAL FOR VIOLENCE IN THE CITIES
AND ON OCCUPIED FARMS AFTER THE ELECTIONS IS HIGH, POST
EXPECTS JUNE 24 AND 25 TO BE REASONABLY QUIET DAYS AT
THE POLLS, WITH ONLY ISOLATED SKIRMISHES BETWEEN RIVAL
PARTIES OCCURRING IN SOME HOTSPOTS. THE ZIMBABWE
REPUBLIC POLICE INTENDS TO DEPLOY 30,000 OFFICERS TO THE

COUNTRY'S 4,000 POLLING STATIONS OVER THE VOTING WEEKEND, AND ARMED MILITARY PERSONNEL ALSO ARE EXPECTED TO BE VISIBLE. DESPITE SUCH DETERRENTS, SEVERAL HOTSPOTS COULD SEE OUTBREAKS OF FIGHTING, PARTICULARLY IN THE HIGH-DENSITY SUBURBS AND OCCUPIED FARMING AREAS. FOLLOWING ARE SOME CONSTITUENCIES WHERE VIOLENCE IS MORE LIKELY TO OCCUR:

-- BUDIRIRO, HARARE PROVINCE: A HIGH-DENSITY SUBURB AND HOME TO WAR VETERANS' LEADER CHENJERAI "HITLER" HUNZVI'S
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MEDICAL OFFICES, WHERE MDC SUPPORTERS ALLEGEDLY HAVE BEEN TORTURED.

-- CHITUNGWIZA AND HIGHFIELD, HARARE PROVINCE: TWO OF THE CAPITAL'S LARGEST HIGH-DENSITY SUBURBS.

-- PLUMTREE, BULAWAYO PROVINCE: A LARGE PERI-URBAN AREA ON THE BOTSWANA BORDER.

-- KWEKWE, MIDLANDS: TERRITORY OF MINISTER OF JUSTICE AND PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS EMMERSON MNANGAGWA, A ZANU-PF HARD-LINER WHO HAS FULLY EMBRACED PRESIDENT MUGABE'S CAMPAIGN STRATEGY OF VIOLENCE AND INTIMIDATION.

-- THE FOLLOWING AREAS IN MASHONALAND EAST: WEDZA, MUTOKO NORTH, MUTOKO SOUTH, MUDZI, MUREHWA NORTH, MUREHWA SOUTH, GOROMONZI, AND CHIKOMBA. THESE ARE COMMERCIAL FARMING AREAS HEAVILY OCCUPIED BY MILITANT WAR VETERANS AND OTHER ZANU-PF SUPPORTERS. MDC PRESIDENT MORGAN TSVANGIRAI HAS DECLARED THESE "NO-GO" AREAS FOR CAMPAIGNING MDC CANDIDATES, AND INCIDENTS OF VIOLENCE AGAINST FARM WORKERS -- AS WELL AS THREATS OF PUNISHMENT IF MDC WINS HERE -- ARE EXTREMELY NUMEROUS.

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LIKELY TO WIN ABOUT 60 SEATS

PREDICTIONS FOR EACH PROVINCE

13. (C) IN POST'S VIEW, THE ELECTION BATTLE IS LIKELY TO CENTER ON THE MDC'S EFFORTS TO WIN 76 SEATS AND SECURE A SIMPLE MAJORITY IN THE 150-SEAT PARLIAMENT. THE RACE WILL BE CLOSE, BUT IN THE END, WE PREDICT THE MDC PROBABLY WILL FALL SHORT OF THE 76. (OF COURSE, IN THE CASE OF RAMPANT RIGGING OR BALLOT BOX STUFFING, ALL BETS ARE OFF.) THE FOLLOWING IS A BREAKDOWN OF OUR PREDICTIONS BY PROVINCE, INCLUDING SOME NOTES ON TOUGH RACES IN PARTICULAR CONSTITUENCIES.

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14. (C) HARARE (19 SEATS): THE MDC IS EXPECTED TO WIN A LARGE MAJORITY OF CONSTITUENCIES WITH VOTES FROM WORKERS, UNEMPLOYED YOUTH, THE BUSINESS COMMUNITY (WHITE AND BLACK), AND OTHER WELL INFORMED ZIMBABWEANS WHO BLAME THE RULING PARTY FOR THE COLLAPSE OF ZIMBABWE'S ECONOMY.

-- IN HARARE NORTH, THOUGH, THE INDEPENDENT CANDIDATE CHESTER MHENDE IS FAVORED TO WIN OVER THE ZANU-PF AND MDC CANDIDATES. (TRUDY STEVENSON, THE MDC NOMINEE, IS A CONTROVERSIAL FIGURE AND NOT A NATIVE-BORN ZIMBABWEAN; SHE MAY HAVE DIFFICULTY GARNERING VOTES.)

-- HARARE SOUTH ALSO IS EXPECTED TO BE A TOUGH RACE BETWEEN INCUMBENT MARGARET DONGO, PRESIDENT OF THE ZIMBABWE UNION OF DEMOCRATS AND CURRENTLY THE ONLY INDEPENDENT PARLIAMENTARIAN, ZANU-PF CANDIDATE VIVIAN MWASHITA, AND MDC CHALLENGER GABRIEL CHAIBVA. THE OUTCOME IS DIFFICULT TO PREDICT; DONGO HAS STOOD THE TEST OF TIME IN HER CONSTITUENCY, RETAINS SUBSTANTIAL POPULARITY, BUT HAS BEEN SOMEWHAT MARGINALIZED ON THE NATIONAL POLITICAL SCENE. SHE HAS COMPLAINED VOCIFEROUSLY, HOWEVER, THAT AS A RESULT OF THE REDRAWING OF THE HARARE SOUTH BOUNDARIES BY THE DELIMITATION COMMISSION, ABOUT 5,000 SOLDIERS ON A NEARBY MILITARY BASE NOW ARE REGISTERED TO VOTE IN HER DISTRICT. DONGO IS WORRIED THAT THE MILITARY VOTES (EITHER GENUINE OR DOCTORED BY THE RULING PARTY) COULD SWING THE ELECTION IN FAVOR OF MWASHITA. THE MDC ALSO IS EXTREMELY POPULAR THROUGHOUT THE HARARE CONSTITUENCIES, AND CHAIBVA, WHILE NOT WELL KNOWN, CANNOT BE RULED OUT.

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-- MDC CANDIDATES ARE EXPECTED TO WIN IN THE INFAMOUS CONSTITUENCIES OF BUDIRO (HOME OF HUNZVI'S SURGERY), AND CHITUNGWIZA (HARARE'S MOST CROWDED HIGH DENSITY SUBURB AND SITE OF FREQUENT VIOLENT CLASHES).

15. (C) BULAWAYO (8 SEATS), MATABELELAND NORTH (7 SEATS), AND MATABELELAND SOUTH (8 SEATS): THE MDC IS EXPECTED TO WIN A LARGE MAJORITY OF THE SEATS IN THESE PROVINCES DOMINATED BY THE MARGINALIZED NDEBELE ETHNIC GROUP. THE MDC IS FIELDING A LOT OF UNKNOWN CANDIDATES IN THESE PROVINCES, THOUGH, AND MANY INDEPENDENT CANDIDATES ALSO ARE LOOKING TO SNATCH VOTES FROM THE RULING PARTY. FOR THEIR PART, MDC LEADERS ARE CONFIDENT THAT THE NDEBELES WILL SUPPORT THEM OVER INDEPENDENT CANDIDATES IN A PROTEST VOTE AGAINST THE HUMAN RIGHTS ATROCITIES SANCTIONED BY PRESIDENT MUGABE DURING THE MID-1980S. IN BOTH BULAWAYO SOUTH AND MAKOKA, HOWEVER, TWO POPULAR "INDEPENDENT" NDEBELE CANDIDATES STAND A GOOD CHANCE OF BEATING BOTH THE ZANU-PF AND MDC NOMINEES. CHARLES MPOFU (BULAWAYO SOUTH -- SEE BELOW) AND MATSON HLALO (MAKOKA -- SEE BELOW) ARE FORMER ZANU-PF'ERS WHO DEFECTED FROM THE RULING PARTY AFTER THE 1999 BULAWAYO CITY COUNCIL ELECTIONS AND STILL RETAIN SUBSTANTIAL POPULARITY IN

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P 231350Z JUN 00
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LIKELY TO WIN ABOUT 60 SEATS

THEIR AREAS.

-- BULAWAYO SOUTH: THIS WILL BE A VERY DIFFICULT RACE
BETWEEN INDEPENDENT CHARLES MPOFU AND DAVID COLTART, THE
MDC SECRETARY FOR LEGAL AFFAIRS AND A PROMINENT ATTORNEY
AND HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVIST. THE ZANU-PF CANDIDATE,
CALLISTUS NDLOVU, IS NOT EXPECTED TO FARE WELL, AS HE IS
A KNOWN CRITIC OF FORMER VICE PRESIDENT AND NDEBELE
LEADER JOSHUA NKOMO.

-- MAKOBA: THIS ALSO WILL BE A TOUGH RACE BETWEEN
INDEPENDENT MATSON HLALO, A WELL-KNOWN NDEBELE
POLITICIAN, POPULAR ZANU-PF CANDIDATE SITHEMBISO NYONI
(A MINISTER OF STATE IN THE OFFICE OF THE VICE
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PRESIDENT), AND LITTLE KNOWN MDC CANDIDATE THOKOZANI
KHUPE.

-- NKULUMANE: A HIGH PROFILE AND DIFFICULT RACE WILL
TAKE PLACE BETWEEN MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS DUMISO
DABENGWA (AT ONE TIME A DISAFFECTED ZAPU DETAINEE), AND
MDC VICE PRESIDENT GIBSON SIBANDA. BOTH ARE NDEBELE, AND
BOTH ENJOY SUPPORT IN THE CONSTITUENCY. SIBANDA IS
FAVORED TO WIN, THOUGH, BOTH BECAUSE OF HIS TRADE UNION
ROOTS AND ASSOCIATION WITH THE MDC, AND BECAUSE OF
DABENGWA'S IMAGE AS A LAME DUCK IN MUGABE'S CABINET WHO
HAS TURNED HIS BACK ON HIS PEOPLE. IF SIBANDA WINS, IT
WILL BE A VERY BIG VICTORY FOR THE MDC.

-- BULAWAYO NORTH: FORMER BULAWAYO MAYOR JOSHUA MAHLINGA
(ALSO AN ADVOCATE FOR THE RIGHTS OF THE DISABLED), FACES
MDC SECRETARY GENERAL WELSHMAN NCUBE IN WHAT WILL LIKELY
BE A VERY CLOSE RACE. NCUBE, A PROFESSOR OF LAW AT THE
UNIVERSITY OF ZIMBABWE, RESIDES IN HARARE, HOWEVER, AND
MAY NOT BE SEEN AS A MAN FROM THE COMMUNITY.

16. (C) MANICALAND (14 SEATS): THE MDC IS EXPECTED TO WIN
AT LEAST HALF THE SEATS HERE, ALTHOUGH A FEW LIKELY WILL
BE LOST TO MORE POPULAR INDEPENDENT CANDIDATES. SEVERAL
ZANU-PF'ERS WHO, ALTHOUGH POPULAR IN THEIR
CONSTITUENCIES, LOST IN THE PRIMARIES TO CANDIDATES
SUBMITTED AT THE LAST MINUTE BY THE RULING PARTY
POLITBURO, ARE NOW RUNNING ON INDEPENDENT TICKETS. SOME,
LIKE FORMER PARLIAMENTARY CHIEF WHIP MOSES MVENGE IN
MUTARE CENTRAL, LAZARUS NZARAYEBANI IN MUTARE SOUTH, AND
SHEPHERD MUKWEKWEZEKE IN MUTARE WEST, FORMERLY WERE
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OUTSPOKEN ZANU-PF PARLIAMENTARIANS WHOM THE POLITBURO
EFFECTIVELY SIDELINED FOR CRITICIZING RULING PARTY
POLICIES. THEY AND OTHER INDEPENDENT CANDIDATES ARE
POPULAR IN MANICALAND, A PROVINCE KNOWN FOR ITS LONG-
TIME SUPPORT OF INDEPENDENTS. MDC NONETHELESS EXPECTS TO
FARE EXTREMELY WELL IN MANICALAND, PARTLY BECAUSE THOSE
VOTES THAT THE RULING PARTY DOES RECEIVE ARE LIKELY TO
BE SPLIT BETWEEN THE NEW "ZANU-PF INDEPENDENTS" AND
FORMAL RULING PARTY CANDIDATES. CONSTITUENCIES IN
MANICALAND WHERE THE OUTCOME LOOKS REASONABLY CERTAIN AT
THIS POINT INCLUDE:

-- BUHERA NORTH, WHERE MORGAN TSVANGIRAI IS PITTED AGAINST MANICALAND GOVERNOR KENNETH MANYONDA. ALTHOUGH WELL RESPECTED, MANYONDA ALMOST CERTAINLY WILL NOT BE ABLE TO COMPETE WITH TSVANGIRAI'S IMMENSE NATIONAL POPULARITY.

-- MAKONI NORTH, WHERE ZANU-PF INCUMBENT DIDIMUS MUTASA, THE RULING PARTY'S SECRETARY FOR ADMINISTRATION, IS EXPECTED TO DEFEAT THE MDC'S LITTLE KNOWN V.T. ZISWA.

-- CHIPINGE NORTH, WHERE ZANU-PF'S GIDDEON GOKO LIKELY WILL DEFEAT THE MDC'S MATHIAS MLAMBO.

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17. (C) MIDLANDS (17 SEATS): THE MDC IS LIKELY TO WIN MORE THAN HALF OF THE SEATS IN THIS PROVINCE, PARTICULARLY AMONG THE NDEBELE CONSTITUENCIES THAT COMPRISE ABOUT HALF OF ALL MIDLANDS SEATS. THE FOLLOWING TWO CONSTITUENCIES, HOWEVER, ARE EXPECTED TO GO TO ZANU-PF:

-- KWEKWE: MINISTRY OF JUSTICE AND PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS EMMERSON MNANGAGWA IS FAVORED TO BEAT UNKNOWN MDC CANDIDATE BLESSING CHEBUNDO. THE MINISTER IS A NATIONALLY RECOGNIZED ZANU-PF HARD-LINER AND ONE OF ZIMBABWE'S MOST POWERFUL FIGURES, AND HE USED HIS INFLUENCE TO SECURE FOOD, INFRASTRUCTURE, AND OTHER
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ITEMS OF PATRONAGE FOR HIS CONSTITUENTS OVER THE YEARS. UNDER MNANGAGWA'S WATCHFUL EYE, VIOLENT CLASHES HAVE OCCURRED FREQUENTLY BETWEEN RULING PARTY AND MDC SUPPORTERS IN KWEKWE, AND THE MINISTER IS EXPECTED TO GO TO ANY LENGTH TO RETAIN HIS PARLIAMENTARY SEAT.

-- MKOBA: THE POPULAR ZANU-PF CANDIDATE FREDERICK SHAVA IS FAVORED TO BEAT MDC UNKNOWN STANLEY MAKWEMBERE.

18. (C) MASVINGO (14 SEATS): THIS WILL BE A TOUGHER PROVINCE FOR THE MDC, WITH THE VOTES SPLIT ABOUT EVENLY

BETWEEN THE MDC AND ZANU-PF. SEVERAL OF THE RULING PARTY'S MOST PROMINENT FIGURES ARE DEFENDING THEIR TERRITORIES IN MASVINGO, AND MANY OF THE CONSTITUENCIES WILL BE HOTLY CONTESTED.

-- MASVINGO CENTRAL: ZANU-PF INCUMBENT DZIKIMAI MAVHAIRE, WHOSE OUTSPOKEN CRITICISM OF PRESIDENT MUGABE RESULTED IN HIS SUSPENSION FROM PARLIAMENT BETWEEN 1997 AND 1999, IS HEAVILY FAVORED TO BEAT MDC CANDIDATE SILAS MANGONO.

-- MASVINGO SOUTH: EDDISON ZVOGBO, A MODERATE BUT SENIOR ZANU-PF'ER AND MINISTER OF STATE IN THE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT, ALSO IS HEAVILY FAVORED TO BEAT MDC'ER ZACHARIA RIOGA.

-- MASVINGO NORTH: DESPITE HIS NATIONAL PERSONA AND SENIOR POSITION IN THE PARTY, MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS STANISLAUS MUDENGE (WHOSE POPULARITY AMONG HIS CONSTITUENTS HAS DECLINED SIGNIFICANTLY IN RECENT
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YEARS), WILL HAVE A TOUGH BATTLE AGAINST MDC CANDIDATE JOSEPH MUTEMA.

-- GUTU NORTH: VICE PRESIDENT SIMON MUZENDA FACES MDC LOCAL CRISPA MUSONI. ALTHOUGH THE VICE PRESIDENT'S NAME IS MUCH BETTER KNOWN, HE IS REGARDED BY MOST AS TOO OLD AND OUT OF TOUCH TO BE EFFECTIVE IN OFFICE, AND IN RECENT YEARS HE HAS FAILED TO BRING THE PATRONAGE TO GUTU NORTH THAT HIS CONSTITUENTS HAVE COME TO EXPECT. DURING A RECENT CAMPAIGN RALLY, MUZENDA LEVIED HARSH, BELITTling REMARKS AT POPULAR FELLOW PARTY MEMBERS MAVHAIRE AND ZVOGBO, BOTH OF WHOM FAILED TO ATTEND THE VICE PRESIDENT'S RALLY BECAUSE THEY WERE BUSY CAMPAIGNING IN THEIR OWN CONSTITUENCIES. WHETHER THIS CRITICISM HAD ANY NEGATIVE EFFECT -- ON ANY OF THE THREE CANDIDATES -- REMAINS TO BE SEEN. THE VICE PRESIDENT ALSO MAY SUFFER THE CONSEQUENCES OF TALKING DOWN TO VOTERS BY TELLING THEM IN A RECENT CAMPAIGN SPEECH THAT THEY MUST SUPPORT THE ZANU-PF CANDIDATE, EVEN IF THE PARTY RUNS "A BABOON."

19. (C) MASHONALAND EAST, WEST, AND CENTRAL (34 SEATS): DESPITE WIDESPREAD VIOLENCE AND INTIMIDATION, WE EXPECT THE MDC TO WIN SOME SEATS IN THESE AREAS, ALTHOUGH NOT

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SCOTT, AND A/AID - RICHARD MCCALL

PASS USTR FOR ROSA WHITAKER

E.O. 12958: DECL: 06/22/2000

TAGS: [PGOV](#) [PREL](#) [ELAB](#) [PINR](#) [ZI](#)

SUBJECT: DESPITE STIFF COMPETITION, POTENTIAL FOR VIOLENCE IN SOME AREAS, AND EXPECTED VOTE RIGGING, MDC LIKELY TO WIN ABOUT 60 SEATS

THE MAJORITY. THE "MASHONALANDS" ARE ZANU-PF STRONGHOLDS, WHERE FARM OCCUPATIONS AND THE WAR VETERANS' CAMPAIGN OF VIOLENCE HAVE BEEN THE MOST AGGRESSIVE. NUMEROUS REPORTS HAVE SURFACED FROM THE REGION THAT CIO AGENTS AND MEMBERS OF MUGABE'S PRESIDENTIAL GUARD WERE BUSED IN TO LEAD THE WAR VETERANS AND OTHER HIRED THUGS IN THE "RE-EDUCATION" OF RURAL RESIDENTS, INCLUDING FORCED ATTENDANCE AT POLITICAL RALLIES, PROPERTY DESTRUCTION, BEATINGS, AND MURDERS. IN THE MIDST OF THESE SUBVERSIVE TACTICS, ZANU-PF INCUMBENTS AND SENIOR POLITICIANS, INCLUDING PRESIDENT MUGABE, HAVE CAMPAIGNED HERE VIGOROUSLY IN RECENT WEEKS.

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10. (C) MEANWHILE, SAFETY CONCERNS AND VOCIFEROUS THREATS FROM THE WAR VETERANS HAVE PREVENTED THE MDC FROM CAMPAIGNING IN THE REGION, WITH TSVANGIRAI DECLARING THE MOST VIOLENT CONSTITUENCIES "NO GO" AREAS FOR HIS PARTY'S CANDIDATES. ALTHOUGH THE MDC ASSERTS THAT MASHONALAND RESIDENTS ARE KEEPING THEIR LOYALTY TO THE PARTY HIDDEN AND WILL VOTE THEIR CONSCIENCE ON ELECTION DAY, IT IS MORE LIKELY THAT THE STATE-SPONSORED VIOLENCE AND INTIMIDATION HAS TAKEN ITS TOLL. WE EXPECT MANY FARM WORKERS AND RURAL RESIDENTS TO SIMPLY ABSTAIN FROM VOTING, WHILE OTHERS, FEARING THAT THEIR BALLOT WILL NOT BE SECRET, WILL VOTE ZANU-PF. ECONOMIC DECLINE AND DISGUST WITH THE RULING PARTY'S SCARE TACTICS PROBABLY WILL PROMPT VOTERS TO HAND THE MDC QUITE A FEW OF THE 34 SEATS IN THE REGION, BUT CERTAINLY NOT A MAJORITY.

11. (C) FOLLOWING ARE SOME HIGH PROFILE RACES IN THE "MASHONALANDS":

-- BINDURA, MASH. CENTRAL: THE INFAMOUS PROVINCIAL GOVERNOR, BORDER GEZI, RESPONSIBLE FOR A SUBSTANTIAL NUMBER OF SERIOUS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS AND DUBBED ZANU-PF'S CAMPAIGN "MASCOT" BY THE INDEPENDENT PRESS, HAS CAMPAIGNED VIGOROUSLY FOR THE RULING PARTY. GEZI HAS PERSONALLY SPEARHEADED THE WAR VETERANS' REIGN OF TERROR IN THE AREA. HIS ENORMOUS PERSONA IS FAVORED TO WIN OVER LITTLE-KNOWN MDC CANDIDATE ELLIOT PFEVBE.

-- MAZOWE EAST, MASH. CENTRAL: MINISTER OF INFORMATION, POSTS, AND TELECOMMUNICATIONS CHEN CHIMUNTENGWENDE IS
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WILL HAVE A DIFFICULT FIGHT AGAINST POPULAR MDC CANDIDATE SHEPHERD MUSHONGA.

-- GURUVE SOUTH, MASH. CENTRAL: THIS WILL BE A VERY CLOSE RACE BETWEEN THE POLISHED AND POPULAR DEPUTY MINISTER OF MINES, ENVIRONMENT, AND TOURISM, EDWARD CHINDORI-CHININGA, AND THE EQUALLY POPULAR DEPUTY SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE MDC, GIFT CHIMANIKIRE (WHO ALSO

SIPDIS
IS HEAD OF THE PTC WORKERS' UNION). BOTH WERE BORN IN GURUVE SOUTH AND HAVE RUN VERY SUCCESSFUL CAMPAIGNS.

-- SHAMVA, MASH. CENTRAL: DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER NICHOLAS GOCHE, WHOSE POPULARITY HAS WANED IN RECENT YEARS, PROBABLY WILL MANAGE TO RETAIN HIS SEAT, FENDING OFF A DIFFICULT CHALLENGE FROM POPULAR LOCAL MDC CANDIDATE JOSEPH MASHINYA.

-- MARONDERA EAST, MASH. EAST: MINISTER OF NATIONAL SECURITY SYDNEY SEKERAMAYI PROBABLY WILL WIN OVER LITTLE KNOWN MDC CANDIDATE DIDIMUS MUNHENZVA -- NOT BECAUSE OF HIS POPULARITY, BUT MORE BECAUSE OF HIS ROLE AS THE HEAD OF ZIMBABWE'S SINISTER CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE ORGANIZATION (WHOSE AGENTS HAVE BEEN INTIMIDATING VOTERS IN HIS AREA FOR SEVERAL MONTHS).

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ACTION AF-00

INFO	LOG-00	NP-00	AID-00	ACQ-00	CIAE-00	DINT-00	DODE-00
	DOE-00	WHA-00	SRPP-00	DS-00	EB-00	EUR-00	FAAE-00
	FBIE-00	VC-00	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	LAB-01	L-00

VCE-00 AC-01 NSAE-00 OMB-01 OPIC-01 PA-00 PM-00
PRS-00 ACE-00 P-00 SP-00 USIE-00 PMB-00 DSCC-00
DRL-02 G-00 NFAT-00 SAS-00 /007W
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P 231350Z JUN 00
FM AMEMBASSY HARARE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6406
INFO NSC WASHDC PRIORITY
DEPT OF LABOR WASHDC PRIORITY
DEPTTREAS WASHDC PRIORITY
USDOC WASHDC PRIORITY
SOUTHERN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT COMMUNITY PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 06 OF 07 HARARE 003460

SIPDIS

DEPT FOR AF PDAS NANCY POWELL, AF DAS WITNEY SCHNEIDMAN,
AND AF/S - ARLENE RENDER

NSC FOR SENIOR AFRICA DIRECTOR GAYLE SMITH

DOL FOR ILAB/ROBERT SHEPARD

TREASURY FOR OASIA/RALYEA AND NATAN EPSTEIN

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[12.](#) (C) MASHONALAND EAST IN PARTICULAR PROBABLY HAS THE
GREATEST POTENTIAL FOR VIOLENCE DURING THE ELECTIONS.
ZANU-PF CANDIDATES ARE FAVORED TO WIN HERE AS A RESULT
OF THE WAR VETERANS' PARTICULARLY AGGRESSIVE TACTICS:

-- MUTOKO NORTH
-- MUTOKO SOUTH
-- WEDZA
-- MARONDERA WEST (NOTE: THE INDEPENDENT CANDIDATE, JOHN
TSIMBA, WHO FORMERLY BELONGED TO ZANU-PF MAY BEAT RUFARO

SIPDIS
GWANZURA, A NON-LOCAL CANDIDATE INSERTED BY THE RULING
PARTY POLITBURO AT THE LAST MINUTE. END NOTE.)
-- MUDZI

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-- MUREHWA NORTH
-- MUREHWA SOUTH
-- GOROMONZI
-- CHIKOMBA, WHERE WAR VETERANS' LEADERS CHENJERAI
"HITLER" HUNZVI FACES POPULAR MDC CANDIDATE PETER
KAUNDA.

FACTORS WORKING IN THE MDC'S FAVOR

[13.](#) (C) VOTING FOR A PARTY, NOT AN INDIVIDUAL: THE
OVERRIDING SENTIMENT IN THE COUNTRY IS THAT ZIMBABWEANS
ARE VOTING FOR A PARTY MORE THAN THEY ARE CONSIDERING
THE INDIVIDUAL QUALIFICATIONS OF EACH CANDIDATE. THE
MDC'S SUPPORT STEMS FIRST AND FOREMOST FROM THE FACT
THAT IT PROMISES CHANGE, IN PARTICULAR ECONOMIC REFORM,
AND A NEW, MORE TRANSPARENT, AND MORE INCLUSIVE STYLE OF
GOVERNANCE. IN MANY CONSTITUENCIES, THE ZANU-PF
INCUMBENTS HAVE FAILED TO DELIVER ON THEIR PROMISES TO
THEIR CONSTITUENTS -- INDEED, MANY HARDLY SET FOOT IN
THE AREA OUTSIDE OF ELECTION SEASON. THE MDC ALSO HAS
BEEN CAREFUL TO CHOOSE CANDIDATES WHO ARE FROM THE AREAS
IN WHICH THEY'RE RUNNING AND ARE KNOWN AT LEAST TO THOSE
CONSTITUENTS, EVEN IF THEY HAVE NO HISTORY IN POLITICS.
AS A RESULT, EVEN LITTLE KNOWN MDC CANDIDATES STAND A
GOOD CHANCE IN MANY CASES OF UNSEATING FAMOUS (IN SOME
CASES INFAMOUS) ZANU-PF INCUMBENTS WHOSE POPULARITY HAS
WANED IN RECENT YEARS.

[14.](#) (C) RURAL VOTE SLIPPING AWAY FROM ZANU-PF: ONCE
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BASTIONS OF RULING PARTY SUPPORT, THE RURAL AREAS NO LONGER ARE SURE BETS FOR THE ZANU-PF INCUMBENTS. MANY COMMUNAL RESIDENTS AND FARM WORKERS, WHO COMPRISE OVER 60 PERCENT OF ZIMBABWE'S 5.1 MILLION VOTERS, EITHER HAVE LIVED OR WORKED IN CITIES THEMSELVES, OR HAVE RELATIVES WHO WORK IN THE CITIES AND COMMUTE HOME OFTEN. AS A RESULT, MDC LEADERS POINT OUT THAT RURAL RESIDENTS ARE NO LONGER AS IGNORANT OF NATIONAL POLITICS AS THEY ONCE WERE, AND INCREASINGLY THEY BLAME ZANU-PF FOR THE DECLINE IN THEIR DISPOSABLE INCOME AND STANDARD OF LIVING -- PARTICULARLY NOW THAT THE GOZ CAN NO LONGER AFFORD TO MAINTAIN THE PATRONAGE SYSTEM THAT IT ONCE ROBUSTLY MAINTAINED IN RURAL AREAS.

15. (C) ALREADY DISILLUSIONED WITH THE RULING PARTY, RURAL RESIDENTS (PARTICULARLY IN THE "MASHONALANDS") HAVE BEEN SUFFERING SINCE FEBRUARY FROM VIOLENT ATTACKS AND SEVERE PSYCHOLOGICAL INTIMIDATION WHICH THEY KNOW HAVE BEEN SANCTIONED BY MUGABE AND, IN MANY CASES, ORGANIZED BY THEIR OWN LOCAL POLITICIANS. MDC LEADERS TELL US THAT, IF MUGABE HAD HELD ELECTIONS IN APRIL OR MAY, THE MDC WOULD HAVE LOST MANY OF THE RURAL CONSTITUENCIES. NOW, ARGUES THE MDC, COMMUNAL RESIDENTS AND PARTICULARLY FARM WORKERS SEE CLEARLY WHAT THE

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	FBIE-00	VC-00	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	LAB-01	L-00
	VCE-00	AC-01	NSAE-00	OMB-01	OPIC-01	PA-00	PM-00
	PRS-00	ACE-00	P-00	SP-00	USIE-00	PMB-00	DSCC-00
	DRL-02	G-00	NFAT-00	SAS-00	/007W		

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P 231350Z JUN 00
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RULING PARTY REPRESENTS, AND THEY WILL VOTE TO REJECT
THEIR ZANU-PF AGGRESSORS ON ELECTION WEEKEND. POST
BELIEVES THE MDC WILL WIN, AND SURPRISINGLY SO, A
HEALTHY NUMBER OF RURAL CONSTITUENCIES (INCLUDING SOME
IN THE "MASHONALANDS") AS A RESULT OF THE PARTY'S
ENERGETIC CAMPAIGNING IN THESE AREAS, AND AS A PROTEST
VOTE AGAINST STATE-SPONSORED INTIMIDATION. HOWEVER,
NEITHER THE MDC NOR POST BELIEVES THAT THE OPPOSITION
WILL SWEEP THE RURAL AREAS, EITHER BECAUSE OF CONTINUED
LOYALTY TO THE RULING PARTY, OR BECAUSE THE INTIMIDATION
HAS WORKED.

16. (C) "ZANU-PF INDEPENDENTS" SPLITTING THE VOTE:

ANOTHER SIGNAL OF THE RULING PARTY'S WANING SUPPORT IS
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THE RECORD NUMBER OF INDEPENDENT CANDIDATES RUNNING IN
THIS ELECTION. OF 566 TOTAL CANDIDATES, A STUNNING 40
PERCENT (OR 226) REPRESENT VARIOUS INDEPENDENT PARTIES
OTHER THAN ZANU-PF AND THE MDC. IN MANY CASES, THESE
INDEPENDENTS ACTUALLY ARE FORMER ZANU-PF'ERS WHO LOST IN
THE PRIMARIES TO OTHER RULING PARTY CANDIDATES. THE
ZANU-PF POLITBURO REPORTEDLY SIDELINED SOME OF ITS MORE
OUTSPOKEN MEMBERS, APPOINTING ZANU-PF LOYALISTS TO
REPLACE THEM IN THEIR OWN CONSTITUENCIES. THE DISPLACED
POLITICIANS -- MANY OF WHOM STILL ENJOY WIDESPREAD
SUPPORT IN THEIR AREAS -- THEREFORE ARE RUNNING AS
INDEPENDENTS, AND ARE EXPECTED TO TAKE AWAY A
SIGNIFICANT NUMBER OF VOTES THAT NORMALLY WOULD BE FOR
THE RULING PARTY. SOME POPULAR FORMER ZANU-PF'ERS NOW
RUNNING AS INDEPENDENTS INCLUDE CHESTER MHENDE IN HARARE
NORTH, MOSES MVENGE IN MUTARE CENTRAL, VESTER SITHOLE IN
CHIPINGE NORTH (MANICALAND), LAZARUS NZARAYEBANI IN
MUTARE SOUTH, SHEPHERD MUKWEKWEZEKE IN MUTARE WEST, AND
JOHN TSIMBA IN MARONDERA WEST. WHETHER THE PRESENCE OF
THESE "ZANU-PF INDEPENDENTS" WILL HELP THE MDC REMAINS
TO BE SEEN.

ELECTION RIGGING: THE BIG UNKNOWN

17. (C) IF THERE IS A LIMITED AMOUNT OF VOTE RIGGING, WE
EXPECT THE MDC TO GARNER ABOUT 60 SEATS -- MORE THAN THE
ONE-THIRD OF THE LEGISLATURE NECESSARY TO BLOCK
CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS AND APPROPRIATIONS BILLS. THE
RULING PARTY HAS DEMONSTRATED THE DRASTIC LENGTHS TO
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WHICH IT IS WILLING TO GO TO HANG ON TO POWER. THE
PRIMARY DETERRENTS TO ELECTION RIGGING WILL BE THE
DOMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL MONITORS, AS WELL AS THE
CANDIDATES' POLLING AGENTS, WHOM ELECTION OFFICIALS ARE
SUPPOSED TO ALLOW TO REMAIN WITH THE BALLOT BOXES FROM
THE OPENING OF THE POLLS TO THE CONCLUSION OF THE COUNT.
ALTHOUGH DIPLOMATS WERE EVENTUALLY ACCREDITED, THE
ELECTION DIRECTORATE LIMITED THE NUMBER OF INTERNATIONAL
OBSERVERS IT WOULD ACCREDIT (INCLUDING DENYING NDI AND
IRI OBSERVER STATUS). IN THE END, WE EXPECT TO SEE A
TOTAL OF ABOUT 300 INTERNATIONAL OBSERVERS ACTUALLY ON
THE GROUND. MEANWHILE, THE NUMBER OF DOMESTIC MONITORS
IS EXPECTED TO BE ABOUT 16,000, DOWN FROM THE 20,000
ORIGINALLY PLANNED. THESE ACCREDITATION PROBLEMS
CERTAINLY ARE NO ACCIDENT. WITH THE NUMBER OF WATCHFUL
EYES ON THE BALLOT BOXES GREATLY REDUCED, IT REMAINS TO
BE SEEN WHETHER THE RULING PARTY WILL BE ABLE TO TAMPER
SIGNIFICANTLY WITH THE ELECTION RESULTS.

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